

valleys or concerning their past history and relationship to other tribes of the group.

HIVA OA (LA DOMINICA)

All of the tribes of the valley of Vevau (Atu Ona) were known inclusively as Na-iki. There were feuds among the subdivisions of the Na-iki, but for outside warfare all were united; the Na-iki were allied with all of Nuku against Pepane. All the inhabitants of the Nuku side of Hiva Oa were the irreconcilable enemies of all the inhabitants of Pepane. About three hundred years ago a great war was fought in the valley of Tahauku between all Pepane and all Nuku. All the Pepane warriors were killed, and the valley was full of dead. Among those who took a leading part on the side of Nuku were Te-hota and Mata-ou-tea, two great *tuhuna* from Tahu Ata. At times there was bitter warfare between the Na-iki, allied with their neighbors, the Tau-mata, against the Tiu of Ta'a Oa valley. There was the bitterest enmity between the Na-iki and all the people of that section of the coast of Hiva Oa east of Atu Ona, known as Ha'a Mau. I have, however, record of an alliance between one of the Na-iki subtribes and the Hiapo of Hana Mate, which was accomplished by the marriage of the children of two chiefs. This alliance was, however, soon ruptured. The Na-iki appear to have been on good terms with the Miti of Vai Paee, but enemies of the Ua-ivi, though these were the friends of, and probably closely related to, the Miti. The Na-iki were once attacked unexpectedly by all of Pepane and driven from their valley to take refuge in Tahu Ata, whence they subsequently returned. Mr. Linton found out in Pua Ma'u that the Na-iki or some of them had, at a not very distant date, lived in Pua Ma'u, whence they were driven by the Pa'aha-tai, fleeing to Atu Ona. He was told also that at the same time the Papua-ei, related to the Na-iki, and now living in one of the upper valleys of Atu Ona, were driven from their homes in the valley of Eia One and forced to take refuge near their relatives in Atu Ono. It has already been mentioned how the Taupo, one of the subtribes of the Na-iki, had settled the northwest coast of Hiva Oa. That other settlers from Atu Ona had gone to Tahu Ata and stayed there is indicated by the tribal names Ati-ku'a and Ku'a-i-te-oho, on that island, these being names of subtribes of the Na-iki. It is to be noted that there were also Ku'a-i-te-oho in Hana Upe valley. There are other Na-iki in Ua Huna, Nuku Hiva, and Ua Pou.

The Tiu were at war with the Tou-mata and the Na-iki. They appear to have been on friendly terms with the people of Tahu Ata and with some at least of the people of the Ha'a Mau region. In a late war people expelled from Hana Hehe took refuge in Ta'a Oa.

621 The Pikina were at war with the Na-iki and Taupo-tua, and with the
 578 dwellers in the upper section of their valley, which, as we have seen, was
 probably a Na-iki (Taupo) settlement. Being included in Nuku, the

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FIGURE 3.—Map of Tahu Ata.

Pikina would, however, have fought with the Tiu and the Na-iki against Pepane. In the story of Kae there is a record of just such an alliance.

The Miti were on good terms with the Na-iki, but were so fearful of the Ha'a Mau people that they never came to the sea for fish and salt water at Taha Uku, but went all the way over to Hana Iapa, where the people were friendly. It seems probable that the Miti were related to, or a branch of the Ua-ivi, who had pushed over into Vai Utu and Vai Paee from Hana Iapa.

The inhabitants of the Ha'a Mau region were allied with the Ua-ivi 621
and Etu-oho and the people of Mo'ea against the Na-iki. The people of 578 ●
Mo'ea and Ha'a Mau were allied with the Pa'aha-tai.



FIGURE 4.—Map of Fatu Hiva.

The Pa'aha-tai were the enemies of the Na-iki, and, as such, were allied in one great war with all the northeast coast of Hiva Oa as far as Hana Iapa, against the Na-iki. Another war is recorded, however, between the Pa'aha-tai in alliance with the Ku'a-i-te-oho of Hana Upe against these

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578 same people from Eia One to Hana Iapa. In the valley of Pua Ma'u there seems to have been a feud between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the valley.

The Ua-ivi had numerous feuds among themselves, but fought as a whole against the Pa'aha-tai and others of the Pepane division, as well as with this division against Nuku in general, and particularly against the Na-iki. They were the enemies of the Tau-po-tua. The Miti were probably an offshoot of the Ua-ivi. (See fig. 2.)

TAHU ATA (SANTA CHRISTINA)

Tahu Ata was, so to speak, a dependency of Hiva Oa, particularly of the Na-iki, and was included with the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The only information that I obtained regarding local wars and feuds was that the people of Hapa-tone were at war with those of Vai Tahu. (See fig. 3.)

FATU HIVA (MAGDALENA)

Fatu Hiva was also included in the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The Eva-eva were allied with the Ana-inoa, and together, these two were the bitter enemies of the Mata'a and the Mo'ota, who were allies. In one great war, the Mata'a and the Mo'ota were driven to take refuge temporarily at Vai Tahu, Tahu Ata, where they subsequently returned. There were numerous local feuds in Omo'a. The story of Putio recounts a war, in which Putio was allied with Fatu Hiva and the inhabitants of the valley of Heke Ani on Hiva Oa against the inhabitants of the plateau settlement on Hiva Oa, called Mo'ea. (See fig. 4.)

UA HUKA (WASHINGTON ISLAND)

On Ua Huka, the people of Vai Paee were allied with those of Haane against the inhabitants of Hokatu. This island was probably never of great importance. Tradition shows relationship with both Nuku Hiva and northern and eastern Hiva Oa. (See fig. 5.)

UA POU (ADAMS ISLAND)

[184] On the island of Ua Pou, the whole of the western region from Haka he Tau to Haka Tao was at war with the whole of the eastern region from Aneo to Hoho'i. In one of these wars the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti were compelled to flee and take refuge in Tai o Hae whither they subsequently returned. It is interesting that there was one group of people on Ua Pou, those living in Haka Mai'i, who are said never to have fought, because their chiefs did not believe in fighting. Some say that this was also true of the people of Hikeu and of Haka Tao. Another matter of particular interest in connection with Ua Pou is that the only instance of one chief's attaining authority over a whole island

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through conquest in war occurred here. Haka Moui is known as the valley of chiefs. The largest and richest valley on Ua Pou, it is said never to have been defeated in war. In other words, its chiefs were never overthrown. About 1860, before European influence was really felt in Ua Pou, Te-iki-tai-uao, chief of the Ati Papa tribe of Haka Moui, secured control

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UA HUKA



FIGURE 5.—Map of Ua Huka.

of the whole island by allying himself with all the tribes of the east coast and defeating in war all those of the west coast. (See fig. 6.)

NUKU HIVA (MARCHAND OR MADISON ISLAND)

These two sections of Nuku Hiva were bitter enemies as were Nuku and Pepane on Hiva Oa. The map of Nuku Hiva (see fig. 7) shows the division of the land and the tribes that belong to each division. The Te-i'i, allied with the Hapa'a, were enemies of the Tai-pi, particularly of those living in Tai-pi Vai valley. In the event of a war with the Tai-pi Vai people the Tai-oa were allied with the Te-i'i, but at other times the Te-i'i and Tai-oa fought each other. The Na-iki were allied with the Tai-oa against the Te-i'i (14, pp. 86-7) but in a war with the Tai-pi, all three were allies. The Ati-toka were allied with the Na-iki and with the Ha'a-motua against the Tai-pi of Hatiheu; but the Ati-toka are known to have had a furious war with the Na-iki of Pua. Constituting the eastern division as they did, all the Tai-pi were allied against all the tribes of the

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Te-i'i division. At times the Tai-pi ava-angi fought with the Tai-pi-vai. The bays of Anaho and Ha'a Tuatua were dependencies of the great valley of Hatiheu. (See fig. 7.)

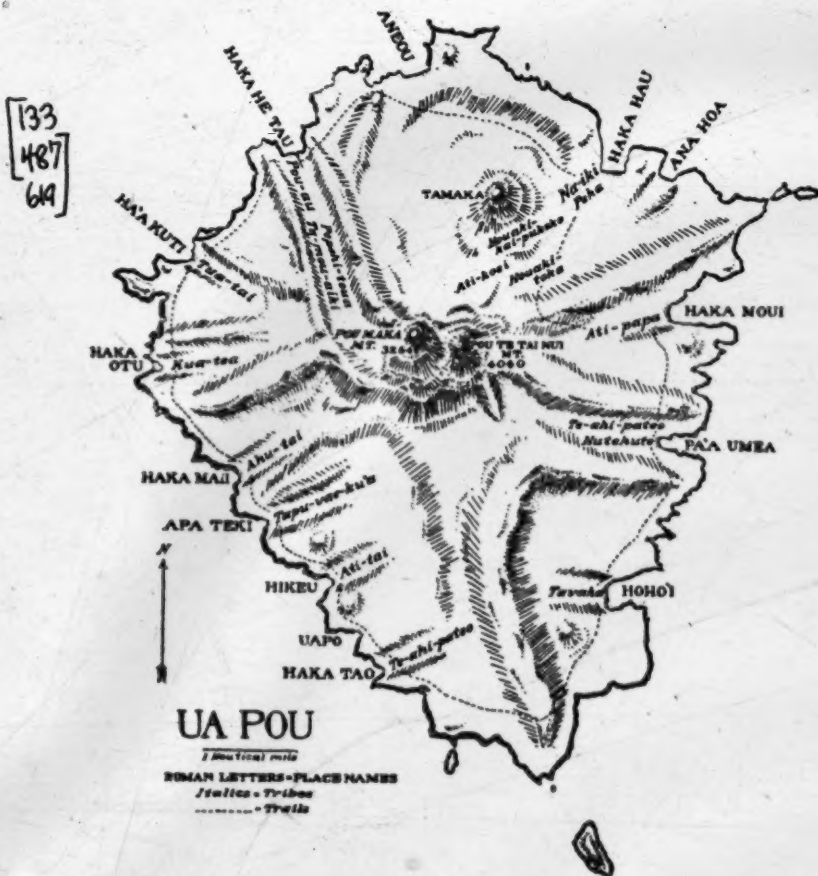


FIGURE 6.—Map of Ua Pou.

There is a general belief nowadays that at the time of early European contact, a chief who had some authority over all the tribes of the island was king of Nuku Hiva. That this was not so when Porter visited the island in 1813 is proved by his account of his attempts to persuade the people of Taio-hae and Tai-pi Vai to organize under one authority for the

sake of peace (24, pp. 103 ff). Inquiry convinced me that, prior to 621
European contact, there had never been any approach to a dominance of 578
Nuku Hiva by any one chief. Stewart gives interesting evidence as to
the fruits of Porter's advice and the origin of the belief which still per-
sists in the French mind that there was such a thing as a royal family of

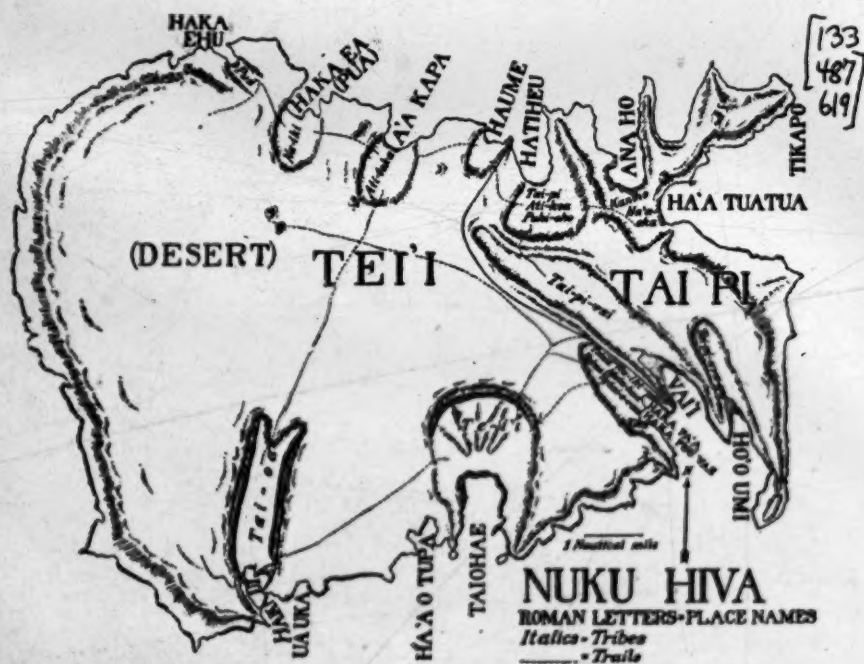


FIGURE 7.—Map of Nuku Hiva.

Nuku Hiva. There were hereditary chiefs, families in the different valleys, but none that had historic right to the title "king," or "queen" of Nuku Hiva. Stewart says (26, pp. 279-80):

It appears that after the subduction of the Taipiis by Commodore Porter in 1814, Keatanui, at the time chief of the Teiis at Taiohae, became virtually and avowedly the king of the whole of Nukuhiva, and was succeeded at his death in this honor by Moana his son, the father of the present Prince Moana. All the tribes, including the Taipiis, partially at least acknowledge the boy, whose maternal grandmother is a chief woman of that tribe, still living at their principal valley, as the rightful prince of the whole; and Capt. Finch strongly recommended to them after a reconciliation should take place, to convene a general council, at which he should formally be proclaimed the king of the island, and they all pledged themselves equally to honor and defend him.

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578 Even at the time Stewart was writing, however, it is not probable that Te-moana had any authority over the northern coast of Nuku Hiva, although he was probably allied with Pua, A'a Kapa and Haume.

The fact that the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kutu, on Ua Pou, fled to Tai o Hae as a refuge during war, indicates that they were on more friendly terms with the Te-i'i than with the Tai-oa of Haka Ui Bay, which is nearer and more easily reached from northwest Ua Pou.

UNINHABITED ISLANDS

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[172] Ei Ao was certainly visited at times, but whether it was ever settled by a permanently established population is unknown. Mr. Linton found the evidences of an extensive adze-making industry, many house platforms, and temple sites. Two residents of Nuku Hiva, who had stayed on Ei Ao have described to me platforms on which there were stone and wooden images. Mr. Linton was told that the bodies of deceased Nuku Hiva chiefs were carried to Ei Ao. Christian (5, p. 204) records that this island was formerly inhabited by people called Tuametaiki.

[173] Fatu-uku was certainly never inhabited. It is a small, high, flat land mass, the top of which is very difficult of access. The top is said to have much coral on it and there is also coral around the island. The story of Tana-oa explains the presence of coral on top as due to the fact that the island was turned upside down, what is now the top having been formerly the base resting in the sea. Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, who has visited this island, saw on top a number of small, well-built platforms. The island was sacred to Tana-oa, the patron of fishermen.

[178] Pua Ma'u fishing expeditions used to visit Fatu Uku to make offerings on his altars. It is said also that the island used to be visited to obtain bird bones and feathers.

Moho Tani^a has no fresh water on it and was probably never permanently settled. There are house platforms. It is said to have been a fishing district belonging to the Ha'a Mau region of Hiva Oa. Christian was told that it was formerly inhabited by people called Moi-a-tiu (5, p. 205).

^aA large number of names of localities, names of tribes and subtribes, of sacred places, tapus, local deities, and so on, were obtained. About half of these came into my hands through manuscripts generously lent by the Catholic fathers in the Marquesas, who allowed me to study these writings of former workers in their mission. The rest were obtained from native informants. These data will be published in a separate report.

597 general girls were preferred to boys for adoption, because they would stay in the family and tribe in which they had been reared, while boys were likely to go back to the tribe to which they were bound by birth. Children were bespoken long before birth, and such a request was never refused, refusal constituting an insult.

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PURPOSE OF ADOPTION

557 The purpose of adoption was to accomplish the union of two families, since the families of the child and its foster parents were regarded as united as one after the formalities of adoption. The object of bringing about such a union of families was the acquisition of wealth, social prestige, and power. Adoption, like marriage, was frequently a chief's means of alliance with the chief of another tribe, and hence the means by which two tribes became allied in war. Both adoption and marriage between chiefs' families usually had as their purpose political advantage, and marked the establishment of lasting alliances between tribes. The tribe was regarded as the family of the chief. By formal betrothal or adoption two families were made as one. Hence the union of two chiefly families in this way meant that their people were united as one tribe. That such alliances were not actually permanent but were disrupted upon the merest whim of the people is shown by an occurrence during the last war between Hana Mate and Atu Ona, when an alliance thus made was intentionally ruptured by a killing.

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In the adoption that took place in less influential families, two other elements were more important: gaining additional members of the family for the sake of work and service and increasing the number of offspring. It was all-important for the native that he should have sufficient descendants after his death to make the necessary offerings to enable his spirit to reach Havaiki safely and to elevate it in rank in the land of spirits. If a man had no children or perhaps only one, he felt safer when he insured the future of his soul by adopting one or more additional children, who would have the same obligation to his spirit and his remains after his death as though they were his born children.

From adoption resulted mutual benefit for both families, since both gained in power and wealth by the union, for the child that was taken away could be replaced by adopting another child from another family.

[727] One of a prisoner-of-war's few chances of saving his life was through being adopted by the chief of the victorious tribe. A prisoner thus adopted became a member of the family (probably as a servitor).

WAR

TRIBAL RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships between tribes and divisions of different islands have been described already under Tribal Relationships. In connection with war the most important matter discussed in that section is the dual division of Hiva Oa and Nuku Hiva, the eastern and western sections of these respective islands being in a continual state of enmity with each other. Alliances and enmities between the larger tribal groups, and feuds between subtribes within these groups are also discussed in that part of the paper. In the discussion of marriage and also of adoption, it is pointed out that these conventions when established between families of chiefs of different tribes served as a social means to seal political alliances for war, but a formal tribal alliance was made by means of the rite called *hami oa*. 578 ●

The Marquesas tribes were in a continual state of warfare. Du Petit-Thouars reports (10, vol. 2, p. 358) that in the year 1837 there were five or six wars on Hiva Oa alone. On Nuku Hiva during the first year of the occupancy of the Catholic Mission twenty human sacrifices were offered. These facts probably indicate many raids and retaliations. When two tribes were actually at war, there was little chance that peace would be declared until one or the other had been completely overthrown and driven from the land, since, after every less conclusive victory, there remained always the duty of retaliation and revenge. But by means of the rite of *hami oa* a state of peace could be brought about between the two tribes without the complete overthrow of either. [728]

CAUSES OF WAR

There were two basic causes of all wars. The first was the necessity of securing human sacrifices at certain times for offerings to the tribal god, such sacrifices being always obtained from an enemy tribe. The second cause was revenge, the occasion being frequently the killing or stealing of men, women, or children for sacrifices on the part of another tribe, or possibly the necessity or demand for revenge growing out of an insult to the tribe. If one tribe that went to visit another were received in an unfriendly and inhospitable spirit, the visiting tribe, thus insulted by not being offered the usual courtesies, would return home and prepare for war. War has even been made by one chief on another to avenge personal slights or insults. 628 721 [728]

When a member of a family had been killed, it was incumbent on every fighting member of the family to avenge the death by blood. The duty was particular with the immediate relatives of the man killed, but ex-

CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.) 789 578

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means of the rite called *nin vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke it into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4). [762]

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena*, "you are a mat"; *hupau*, "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro*, "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e*, meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe*, "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma*, "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka*, "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina*, meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina*, "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war 291

539 combat. In Pua Ma'u *mauta'a* is applied to chants supposed to give
789 efficacy to enterprises and to bring about good results in tattooing or in
surgical operations; and lastly, *mauta'a* served as songs to announce the
coming of groups of people to feasts. When a great feast was being held
at a festival place every tribe that arrived would sing its *mauta'a*, the
chant being cried in a powerful voice by some selected singer. When the
mauta'a of the visitors was heard it was answered from the feast place
by those waiting to receive them, one man or several men crying out
with great force.

The *ta'a* appears to have been the same as the *mauta'a*. These *ta'a*,
according to Pua Ma'u informants, were shouted at feasts by men and
women together.

The *tukahoa* resembled the *mauta'a* in being a sort of chant of ex-
ultation. It was sung by canoe parties or groups coming on foot to a
festival. An example will be published with the text of the legend of
Tana-oa, in which this chant caused the sinking of canoes that Tana-oa
was pursuing, indicating that it was in the nature of a spell.

539 The *w'i* may be characterized as a dramatic dialogue recounting a
578 matching of wits by two *tuhuna*. Every tribe had its *w'i* which was used
in the following way. If a tribe went visiting into another valley and
they were welcomed and entertained all was well. But if, on the other
hand, as they lay offshore in their canoes they were told to "Get out"
(Hau!!!), they would sing their *w'i*. In reply to this song of defiance the
local tribe would sing a chant called *rove*. The example of an *w'i* that
I have recounts, in the form of a dialogue, the contest and matching of
wits of two *tuhuna* of ancient times. I was told that in such a contest
as this chant describes a judge would sit between the two contestants
while they cross-questioned and recriminated each other. The contestants
were *tuhuna o'ono*, masters of myth, legend, and genealogy. The one
who was outwitted was considered as defeated or overthrown (*ua hina*)
by the victor. It is said that formerly a *tuhuna* thus defeated was killed.
Such contests still take place in an informal way, and it is believed by
some today that he who pretends to knowledge and is found wanting
will die.

539 In the story of Kae a young adventurer sings a song called *Atuia* as
he approaches the dwelling of his affianced (*tuia*).

The *kapa* was a kind of song which recounted the exploits of a hero.

The great development of singing is indicated by the number of kinds
of chants that had distinct names. Dordillon (8) gives, in addition to a
number of the names of the chants that have been described above, the
various terms for other chants and kinds of chants. It would seem that

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while married ones might. Thus if a woman's main husband appeared too interested in another woman she would first threaten suicide, and then, in many cases, carry out her threat. Her death would not bring the vengeance of her family on the husband, but it would grieve him, bring public censure, and also break up the household. The secondary husbands would leave and he would have to attach himself to another household in a subsidiary position. How far these practices are to be interpreted as expressions of jealousy is a question. The main factor seems to have been wounded pride.

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After marriage there was little if any overt expression of jealousy on the part of the men. It must be remembered that the household was normally made up of a girl and a group of boys from her gang who were particularly attached to her and to each other. Jealousy between plural husbands or even between married men over some woman outside their households was considered very bad manners. Such men never quarreled over women when sober, but when drunk there were numerous fights, some quite serious, when knives were used. The participants were much humiliated when they became sober, and there would be an exchange of apologies the next day. In a well established household there was no quarreling over the wife.

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There were various forms of marriages, the most formal being that between the eldest son of the chief of one tribe and the eldest daughter of the chief of another tribe, a union which would unite two lines and promote peace between the two groups. The betrothal in these cases was made in infancy, and during the period of the engagement feasts given by one family or the other. The marriage was an elaborate ceremony with extensive gift exchanges. The group who went to the neighboring village to get the bride carried live pigs lashed to a tremendous timber frame. This delegation would be attacked by the men of the receiving group, who would attempt to drive them off and carry away the pigs. Later there would be a return ceremony with another offering of pigs.

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Only a household well up in the social scale could afford a

583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was out-ranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the household. The only people who remained important in old age were [193] the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

• [578] There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and
273 that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in-
685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were individually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

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of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior.

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One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (*Gardenia tahitiensis*). Frangipani (*tipanie'e*) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair.

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Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulous attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (*ki'i*) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger.

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For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized.

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The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygienic

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/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" 836
 men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced 833
 with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the 889
 standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is
 impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or
 mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is
 apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the
 female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include 836
 young unmarried males, the older males who are married and
 strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual 837
 partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far 648
 as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are gen-
 erally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number
 of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of
 fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is 578
 little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these
 positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but
 merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood
 that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in
 waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will
 take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate
 with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation
 of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, 833
 the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial 833
 nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a 836
 direct request that they be sexually served. The order of
 service has usually been previously decided among the boys.
 If the request is granted, the group will go to an available
 house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available,
 the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she
 may receive the males in the nude if a house is available.
 Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistent, except possibly for
 the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed
 in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of.
 The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair,
 watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

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two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news.

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Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband.

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When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare.

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Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/71 cont. /

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (*Murex ramosus*) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters.

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Aboriginal Obscenities

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'u moeka

sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone)

kio'e pe

"rotten or decayed rat"

'upoko pe

"rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power)

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'o'o pe

"rotten or decayed brain"

to roro!

"Your brain!"

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not downright Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

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Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentration on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Appellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

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There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other white ethnic groups.

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/74 cont./

white ethnic groups. This is a culture contact phenomenon, arising from the need of the natives to act out their animosity toward the European intruders. As few white visitors ever learn more than a few words of the native language, it is quite safe for the natives to refer to white visitors by terms such as those listed above. I have seen Marquesans return the greetings of French and American tourists with such appellations, displaying perfect poker faces all the while. Much is made of "lax" European bathing habits; to escape disapprobation, one must bathe as frequently and as thoroughly as the Marquesans and be extremely careful of perspiration odor.

Skin eruptions are very common among the Marquesans, providing a further source for terms of insult. Some of the most common are:

/75/ puna

an eruption characterized by itching and peeling of the skin, often in the groin, but found on the rest of the body as well (also known as Sekaseka or senga senga - Samoan?)

tane

an eruption characterized by slight depigmentation, arising in spots and spreading over large areas

mama

an eruption characterized by numerous small round hard blisters developing on the lower legs and ankles, resembling in their appearance and order the chitons (mama) which appear on the rocks along the shore.

All these diseases are considered quite contagious (rare), especially as a result of sexual intercourse. References are commonly made to a newly developed skin condition as having come from a particular sexual episode. Those whose mates or lovers are afflicted with any of these diseases are subjected to severe ridicule at times, as the diseases, although common, are thought to be somewhat distasteful.

Conspicuously absent in the Marquesan obscene vocabulary are references to female relatives of the addressed. Having

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